

Message Text

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TO USMISSION USBERLIN NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 092346

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FOLLOWING REPEAT BONN 7018 ACTION SECSTATE DTD 24 APR

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S E C R E T BONN 07018

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NOTIFY EUR/CE: JOHN KORNBLUM ON RECEIPT

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS AMEMBASSY BERLIN AND USMISSION
USBERLIN

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, WB, GW, US, UR, UK, FR

SUBJECT: SOVIET DEMARCHE ON BERLIN PATROLS

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REFS: A. STATE 92306; B. BONN 6968; C. BONN 6926

D. BONN 6882; E. STATE 86351

BEGIN SUMMARY: BONN GROUP MET APRIL 24 TO CONSIDER
PROPOSED RESPONSE TO SOVIET DEMARCHE ON
MILITARY PATROLS. IN REVERSAL OF PRIOR POSITION, UK
AND FRENCH REPS ARE PREPARED TO RECOMMEND A COMMON
RESPONSE WHICH RECOGNIZES SOVIET EXPRESSION OF DESIRE
TO MAINTAIN BUSINESSLIKE CONTACTS AND AVOID MISUNDER-
STANDINGS AND DEBATES. THEY ALSO FOUND ACCEPTABLE

DEPARTMENT'S SUGGESTED PARAGRAPH WHICH QUESTIONS SOVIET MOTIVES. HOWEVER, THEY STRONGLY OPPOSED DEPARTMENT SUGGESTION THAT RESPONSE SHOULD SPECIFICALLY MENTION SOVIET FLAG VEHICLE ENTRY INTO WEST BERLIN.

ACTION REQUESTED: URGENT GUIDANCE. END SUMMARY.

1. BONN GROUP MET APRIL 24 TO CONSIDER DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS (REFTEL A). DISCUSSION WAS HAMPERED SOMEWHAT BY FACT THAT UK REP (EYERS) HAS NOT YET RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS IN RESPONSE TO BONN GROUP DRAFT (REFTEL D). HIS COMMENTS, AS REFLECTED HEREIN, MUST BE TAKEN WITH THAT CAVEAT.

2. THE FRENCH, UK AND FRG REPS ALL REMAIN FIRMLY OPPOSED TO EXPLICIT MENTION IN THE ALLIED RESPONSE OF SOVIET VEHICLES CARRYING OUT DUTIES IN THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN AS REITERATED IN REF. A, PARA. 1(B).

A. DEBOISSIEU SAID IT WAS LOGICALLY INCORRECT TO COMPARE ALLIED PATROLS IN THE EAST WITH SOVIET VEHICLES IN THE WEST. THEIR VEHICLES ARE FOR THE MOST PART ASSOCIATED WITH QUADRIpartite ACTIVITIES IN THE WESTERN SECTORS SUCH AS THE BASC AND SPANDAU. ON THE OTHER HAND, OUR PATROLS ARE PRIMARILY SYMBOLIC IN VALUE IN THAT THEY ARE AIMED AT DEMONSTRATING THE
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QUADRIpartite STATUS OF THE ENTIRE CITY. THEREFORE, LOGICALLY, IT IS IN THEIR INTEREST TO STOP WESTERN PATROLS. IT IS IN OUR INTEREST, IF WE WISH TO MAINTAIN THE QUADRIpartite STATUS OF THE ENTIRE CITY, AND IN ANY CASE TO ENSURE THAT THE BASC CONTINUES TO FUNCTION, TO CONTINUE TO ALLOW THE MOVEMENT OF SOVIET VEHICLES IN THE WESTERN SECTORS. DEBOISSIEU CONCLUDED THAT IF WE WERE TO RESPOND TO THE TERMINATION OF WESTERN PATROLS WITH AN ATTEMPT TO PREVENT THE ENTRY OF SOVIET VEHICLES WHOSE PURPOSE IS PURELY TO PATROL, WE WOULD HAVE TO STOP THEM AT THE CHECKPOINT AND INQUIRE OF THE OCCUPANTS OF THE SOVIET VEHICLES AS TO THEIR DESTINATIONS. IF THEY WERE EN ROUTE TO THE BASC, FOR EXAMPLE, THEY WOULD BE PERMITTED TO PASS AND IF THEY HAD NO SPECIFIC ACCEPTABLE DESTINATION, THEY WOULD BE TURNED BACK. MAKING THESE DISTINCTIONS WOULD MAKE US MORE GDR THAN THE GDR.

B. EYERS CONCURRED WITH DEBOISSIEU'S ARGUMENT. HE NOTED THAT OVERTLY TO MENTION SOVIET VEHICLES IN THE WESTERN SECTORS WOULD BE TO HINT AT A QUID PRO QUO, NAMELY, IF YOU STOP YOURS THAN WE WILL STOP OURS, OR VICE VERSA. AS MOST OF THE ACTIVITIES OF SOVIET VEHICLES IN THE WEST ARE CONNECTED WITH THE BASC,

TIERGARTEN AND SPANDAU, THIS WOULD SUGGEST TO THE SOVIETS WE WOULD BE AMENABLE TO A TRADE OFF. SUCH A PROPOSAL WOULD REQUIRE A RENEGOTIATION COMPARABLE TO THAT OF THE QA.

C. FRG REP (VON ARNIM) TOOK A SIMILAR LINE. HE SAID THAT IT WOULD BE A SERIOUS MISTAKE FOR US TO BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE AS STRONG AN INTEREST IN MAINTAINING THEIR PATROLS IN THE WEST AS WE HAVE IN MAINTAINING OUR PATROLS IN THE EAST. HE SAID A SUGGESTION THAT WESTERN PATROL RIGHTS ARE THE RECIPROCAL OF SOVIET ENTRY RIGHTS COMES TOO CLOSE TO SECRET

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ABRASIMOV'S POSITION THAT EACH SIDE SHOULD KEEP TO ITS OWN SECTION. IN DISCUSSING THE POINT WITH US PRIOR TO THE MEETING, VON ARNIM SAID THAT IF WE OFFER TO COVER THEIR QUADRIPARTITE CARDS WITH OUR OWN, WE WILL EACH END UP WITH NO CARDS LEFT BUT WEST BERLIN WILL AT THE END OF THE GAME STILL BE A HUNDRED AND SIXTY KILOMETERS INSIDE THE GDR.

3. COMMENT: WE THINK THAT A GOOD CASE CAN BE MADE BOTH FOR AND AGAINST EXPLICIT MENTION OF SOVIET VEHICLES IN THE TEXT. OF THE VARIOUS POINTS AGAINST SUCH MENTION, PROBABLY EYERS' ARGUMENT THAT IT SUGGESTS TO THE SOVIETS WE MIGHT BE WILLING TO MAKE A TRADE-OFF, WITH THE IMPLICATION THAT WE SHOULD NEGOTIATE THE ISSUE, IS THE MOST TELLING POINT. FRENCH, UK AND FRG REPS DID ASSURE US THEY WOULD REPORT THE U.S. POSITION TO THEIR AUTHORITIES. HOWEVER, IN AGREEING TO DO SO, DEBOISSIEU SAID THAT U.S. INSISTENCE ON THE POINT COULD HOLD UP AGREEMENT ON THE TEXT FOR WEEKS. ON THE OTHER HAND, DEBOISSIEU ADDED, THE OTHER POINTS AT ISSUE COULD PROBABLY BE SETTLED WITHOUT DELAY. THE EMBASSY AGREES THAT THERE ARE CERTAIN DANGERS INHERENT IN TRYING TO EQUATE SOVIET PATROLS WITH OURS AND DOUBTS THAT REFERENCE TO THE SOVIET PATROLS IS ESSENTIAL TO MAKING OUR CASE. ON BALANCE, THEREFORE, WE RECOMMEND THAT THE REFERENCE BE DROPPED. END COMMENT.

4. THE RESPONSE TO DEPARTMENT'S RECOMMENDED SUBSTITUTE PARAGRAPH E OF BONN GROUP DRAFT WAS FAVORABLE. DE BOISSIEU WELCOMED SUBSTITUTION OF PHRASE "STABILITY ACHIEVED BY THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT" FOR "DELICATE BALANCE" SINCE FRENCH HAD ALREADY PROPOSED DELETION OF "DELICATE BALANCE." VON ARNIM AGREED, SAYING THAT "DELICATE BALANCE" IS NOT REGARDED FAVORABLY BY FRG FOREIGN OFFICE SINCE THIS IS A TERM OF WHICH SECRET

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ABRASIMOV IS FOND. DEBOISSIEU SAID HE THOUGHT THAT THE NEW PARAGRAPH WILL BE ACCEPTABLE, SUBJECT PERHAPS TO MINOR (UNSPECIFIED) CHANGES. EYERS FOUND NO FAULT WITH IT SUBJECT TO CAVEAT THAT HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT HIS INSTRUCTIONS WILL CONTAIN.

5. OTHER BONN GROUP REPS REPEATED THEIR VIEW THAT THE USE OF PARAGRAPH 2(B) OF U.S. DRAFT TRANSMITTED IN REFTEL E WAS MORE APPROPRIATE FOR U.S. THAN FOR THE UK AND FRANCE. WE REPLIED THAT DEPARTMENT THOUGHT IT WAS APPROPRIATE FOR THEM AND NOTED SOVIET REFERENCE TO "BUSINESSLIKE CONTACTS" IN NOTE GIVEN TO UK. WE SAID THAT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE IF WE COULD AGREE ON A RESPONSE ALONG THE LINES OF DEPARTMENT'S SUGGESTION. THE RESULT OF WHAT WE CONSIDER THE OTHER REPS' FORTHCOMING RESPONSE TO THIS SUGGESTION WAS THE FOLLOWING RECOMMENDED TEXT AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR PARAGRAPH F OF REFTEL D.

"THE (BLANK) GOVERNMENT NOTES THE WISH OF THE SOVIET UNION TO CONTINUE CONTACTS ON BERLIN MATTERS ON A BUSINESSLIKE BASIS, AND TO AVOID MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND DEBATES OVER QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE FOUR POWERS IN BERLIN. THE (BLANK) GOVERNMENT SHARES THAT WISH. THE (BLANK) GOVERNMENT THEREFORE ACCEPTS THE PROPOSAL OF THE SOVIET SIDE THAT THE SOVIET DEMARCHE SHOULD NOT BE MADE A MATTER OF PUBLIC DISCUSSION. BUT THE (BLANK) GOVERNMENT REMAINS DETERMINED TO ENSURE THAT THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF ALL THE FOUR POWERS IN BERLIN ARE RESPECTED AND THAT OUTSIDE PARTIES SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO INTERFERE WITH THESE IMPORTANT RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. IN PARTICULAR THE (BLANK) GOVERNMENT IS DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN QUADRI-SECRET

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PARTITE RIGHTS OF FREE MOVEMENT THROUGHOUT BERLIN AND IS THEREFORE UNABLE TO ACCEPT THE CONTENT OF THE SOVIET NOTE OF 15 APRIL."

6. COMMENT: WE APPRECIATE THAT THE FOREGOING IS HARDER IN TONE THAN THE DEPARTMENT'S DRAFT. OUR PURPOSE IN SUBMITTING IT FOR DEPARTMENT'S CONSIDERATION IS THAT IT WOULD RESULT IN THREE POWER NOTES OF EVEN TENOR. FRENCH AND BRITISH IN BONN GROUP DO NOT OBJECT IF THE DEPARTMENT PREFERS TO INCLUDE ITS ORIGINAL TEXT IN ITS REPLY BUT ARE NOT PREPARED TO RECOMMEND THEIR GOVERNMENTS DO SO. IN SHORT, THIS GIVES THE DEPARTMENT ANOTHER OPTION.

SPECIFIC COMMENTS ON PORTIONS OF THE ABOVE PARAGRAPH FOLLOW:

A. OUR ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN AGREEMENT TO A Milder PHRASE THAN "THE (BLANK) GOVERNMENT NOTES" WAS UNSUCCESSFUL. THE COMMENT WAS MADE THAT WE SHOULD NOT BE "GRATIFIED," ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF THE UNACCEPTABLE DEMAND THAT THE ALLIES STOP THE PATROLS. AS A COMPROMISE, OUR SUGGESTION FOR THE FOLLOWING SENTENCE ("...SHARES THAT WISH") WAS ACCEPTED.

B. OUR SUGGESTION THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD "AGREE WITH" THE SOVIETS THAT THE FORMER DO NOT WANT TO MAKE THIS A MATTER OF PUBLIC DISCUSSION WAS ALSO REJECTED.

C. THE SECOND SENTENCE OF THE DEPARTMENT'S DRAFT, PARAGRAPH 2(B) OF REFTEL E (WHICH BEGINS "THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO BELIEVE...") WAS DROPPED ON THE GROUND THAT THE SAME CONCEPT IS REPEATED IN PARAGRAPH E OF BONN GROUP DRAFT (REFTEL D).

D. THE PHRASE "RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES" WAS USED TWICE IN THE SAME SENTENCE AT THE FRENCH INSISTENCE. DEBOISSIEU'S ARGUMENT WAS THAT THE SECRET

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SOVIETS MIGHT TRY TO FIND A SUBTLE MESSAGE IF WE USED "RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES" AND FOLLOWED IT ONLY BY "RIGHTS." HE NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY NOT TO LET THE GDR INTERFERE.

7. BONN GROUP REPS ARE NOW OUT OF PHASE, AS EYERS PREFERS NOT TO REPORT THE RESULTS OF TODAY'S MEETING UNTIL HE RECEIVES INSTRUCTIONS ON THE EARLIER DRAFT (HE HAS BEEN INFORMED THAT A TELEGRAM WITH INSTRUCTIONS HAS BEEN SENT UP FOR APPROVAL). CONCEIVABLY, LONDON'S REACTION MAY REQUIRE FURTHER REDRAFTING. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO OUR ATTEMPT TO REACH AD REF AGREEMENT ON A REVISED DRAFT, HOWEVER, IF WE COULD RECEIVE THE DEPARTMENT'S EARLY REACTION TO THE CHANGES WORKED OUT TODAY.

8. ACTION REQUESTED:

A. THAT THE DEPARTMENT AGREE TO DELETION OF A SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO SOVIET PATROLS, AS RECOMMENDED IN PARA. 3(B), ABOVE.

B. THAT THE DEPARTMENT APPROVE THE REVISED TEXT FOR PARA. F, AS SET OUT IN PARA. 5, ABOVE.

STOESSEL UNQTE VANCE

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